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244 The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *varenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaiwai tauiva* (still larger corms), *alupoko* (very big corms), and *punua* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonongna", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

433 571 431 Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the household, the nuts they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later 431 occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give [574] out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

431 195 The word *tauapolo* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Tauapolo* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

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Payments

437 431 426 574 554 [322] Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *unkoyimo te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*unkumalinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *unkoyimanga matolo* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*malinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uso*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,500 nuts, 800 manus (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 manus, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven manus, each woman five manus, each child one manu; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 574 431 621 527 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/2. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

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to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lauaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lasi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lauaya*, as *lauaya kavau* (crabs), *lauaya manu* (birds). A *lauaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If taro, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lauaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lauaya* feast links with the custom of replanting taro and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngahuanga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 56, 76).

4. *Wakaneiknga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleeping house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngahuanga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *manuinga*.

5. *Kavakava*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*naiana*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wauke, *tauwaingaya*, and *puaki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *maikiuna*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *pupu wale* and *laiakanga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *kaukaua*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

Inua kai o te tuna is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of taro in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

Lauwaingi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *maiolo ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *kapolinga* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fish food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *pinaga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have not

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mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households; when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

Formerly, the group of elders (*tupele*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for lauhatu feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangapa* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*aurunga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

Fire (*ahi*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iho ahi*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ihanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikoiko*, and to make fire thus is *mate ahi*.

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TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *ipiipi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mouu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vena*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*koi*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yawi*, sometimes given as *awi*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Luku*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*uuuuo ki loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*luku*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*) was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), punishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipapi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

The words *kai, taumamaya, yamuyamu, lamulamu* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on coconut-leaf (*tahapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*unkaloculava*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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period, organization was in terms of either *wua* or *yolonga* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nilo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

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Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolonga*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

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It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

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Kennedy (19,p.297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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597 591 while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama kokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

597 Generally the *tama kokoti* is adopted before birth:

843 613 When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama kokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

597 844 [842] 591 The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At [431] weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child [574] lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama kokoti* to the adopting parents.

597 591 862 As distinguished from a *tama kokoti*, the feeding child (*tama mangai*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child is sent to relatives to be weaned:

> Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, ate *uto*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her breasts tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a cloth, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 [553] The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts and by the naming of the child:

574 612 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *pauki* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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851 mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's
574 affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uluaki*),
612 the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *uaele* food division. If the *uluaki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *taumamayanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *uaele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *uaele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

553 The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoa*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa te ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*uaiea*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

[175] If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

551 The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*uaie lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*uaie tamaamaine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Mos (derived from Mr. Move, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Aponua (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however misdirected, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

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unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*uukinnua*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *wakamalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *uuvu loloi* (a talo dish), *fulaka loloi* (a *fulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kouaka*, *mauu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *wakawolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *wakawolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *wakawolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *wakawolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

The concept of adultery (*wakaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

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more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *nix wakovale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matonga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wokalelei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

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In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*tautau penu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*molamu*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *aua* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka takataka momao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pukupuku*, she prepares quantities of the taro dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pukupuku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

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At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kumal*, and *wenga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared taro, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

In former times women held mat-making contests (*maingonga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the talo for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yei. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
827 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngake women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngake. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngake women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted: